

Message Text

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FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2319

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 MBFR VIENNA 0434

FROM MBFR VIENNA REPRESENTATIVE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJ: MBFR: EASTERN BILATERAL REACTIONS TO WESTERN DISAGGREGA-
TION PROPOSAL

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: IN A SERIES OF BILATERALS REPORTED ON AT THE JULY 20 AND 21 MEETINGS OF THE AD HOC GROUP (AHG), EASTERN REPS COMMENTED IN NEGATIVE TERMS ON THE WEST'S DATA DISAGGREGATION PROPOSAL. THESE COMMENTS STRESSED THE EAST'S RELUCTANCE TO REVEAL QUOTE SENSITIVE INFORMATION CONCERNING FORCE STRUCTURES, UNQUOTE A CIRCUMLOCUTION COVERING RELUCTANCE TO GIVE STRENGTHS OF INDIVIDUAL MAJOR UNITS. END SUMMARY.

2. A SERIES OF ALLIED BILATERAL MEETINGS WITH EASTERN REPS DEALING WITH THE EASTERN REACTION TO THE WEST'S JULY 15 DATA DISAGGREGATION PROPOSAL WERE REPORTED UPON AT THE JULY 20 AND 21 MEETINGS OF THE AD HOC GROUP.

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LUXEMBOURG/USSR

3. LUXEMBOURG REP (WINTER) REPORTED ON A BRIEF JULY 19 MEETING WITH SOVIET DEPREP (SHUSTOV). WINTER ASKED SHUSTOV, WHO HAD JUST RETURNED FROM THAT DAY'S INFORMAL SESSION, IF SHUSTOV HAD BEEN SATISFIED WITH THE MEETING. SHUSTOV REPLIED THAT HE HAD

BEEN DISAPPOINTED. HE SAID THAT, DESPITE THE FACT THAT EASTERN COMMENTS ON THE DATA DISAGGREGATION PROPOSAL HAD BEEN DESCRIBED AS PRELIMINARY, THE WEST SHOULDN' HAVE THE SLIGHTEST ILLUSION THAT EASTERN AUTHORITIES WOULD ACCEPT THIS PROPOSAL. WHEN ASKED WHAT ELEMENTS OF THE PROPOSAL WERE MOST TROUBLING TO THE EAST, SHUSTOV REPLIED THAT THE EAST COULD NOT AGREE TO A DETAILED EXAMINATION OF THE STRUCTURE OF EASTERN FORCES.

4. AT THE JULY 21 MEETING OF THE AHG, WINTER REPORTED ON A FURTHER CONVERSATION HE HAD HAD EARLIER THE SAME DAY WITH SHUSTOV. SHUSTOV REPEATED WORD FOR WORD HIS STATEMENT THAT THE WEST SHOULD NOT NOURISH THE SLIGHTEST ILLUSION THAT THE EAST WOULD ACCEPT THE WESTERN DATA DISAGGREGATION PROPOSAL. SHUSTOV SAID HE HAD REPORTED ON THE PROPOSAL TO MOSCOW, INCLUDING HIS ANALYSIS OF IT AND HAD RECEIVED "NO CORRECTION." THIS MEANT THAT MOSCOW SHARED HIS ANALYSIS OF THE PROPOSAL. WINTER ASKED SHUSTOV TO ELABORATE ON WHAT THE EAST DESCRIBED AS A DEMAND FOR AN UNACCEPTABLE DEGREE OF STRUCTURAL INFORMAL--WAS IT THE LEVEL OF DISAGGREGATION OR THE PROPOSAL TO EXCHANGE DIVISIONAL DATA? SHUSTOV MADE THREE POINTS IN REPLY:

- 1) THE EAST HAD NO ASSURANCE AS TO WHERE THE WEST WOULD STOP--THE WEST COULD EVENTUALLY PRESS FOR DATA AT THE REGIMENTAL OR BATTALION LEVEL.
- 2) AS IN THE WEST, THERE WERE GREAT DIFFERENCES IN THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES OF EASTERN UNITS. THIS PROPOSAL COULD

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LEAD TO THE COMPLETE "ANATOMIZATION" OF EASTERN UNITS AND, GIVEN THE PAST HISTORY OF THE TALKS, THIS "ANATOMIZATION" WOULD BECOME PUBLIC. MOREOVER, IN SOME FORCES, CERTAIN TYPES OF COMBAT ELEMENTS WERE IN DIVISIONS WHILE IN OTHER FORCES THEY WERE IN SUPPORT ELEMENTS.

- 3) THE TALKS SHOULD NOT FOCUS ON COMPARING DATA ON UNITS BUT ON NATIONAL TOTALS SINCE NATIONAL TOTALS, NOT DATA OR UNITS, WOULD FORM THE BASIS OF REDUCTIONS AND LIMITATIONS.

5. AT THE SAME AHG SESSION, WINTER SAID HE HAD ALSO TALKED TO THE POLISH MILREP (OSTASZEWICZ) ON JULY 21. THE POLE SAID THAT THE WESTERN PROPOSAL PRESENTED DIFFICULT SECURITY PROBLEMS AND CONCLUDED WITH THE STATEMENT "YOU KNOW THE GENERALS" TO SUM UP THE ISSUE.

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FM MBFR VIENNA REPRESENTATIVE

6. AT THE JULY 20 AHG SESSION, FRG REP (BEHREND) REPORTED ON A SERIES OF FRG DELEGATION BILATERALS WITH EASTERN DELEGATIONS ON JULY 19 AND 20, MOST NOTABLY A JULY 20 SESSION INVOLVING SOVIET REPS (TARASOV & SHUSTOV) WITH TWO BUNDESTAG MEMBERS (PAWELCZYK & SCHMUDE) AS WELL AS FRG DELOFFS. IN THAT MEETING, SHUSTOV AND TARASOV HAD OBJECTED TO THE ALLEGED REQUIREMENT OF THE WESTERN PROPOSAL THAT THE LOCATION OF EASTERN UNITS BE SPECIFIED. WHEN BEHREND RESPONDED THAT THE PROPOSAL MADE NO SUCH DEMAND, SOVIET REPS REPLIED THAT THEY WOULD BE REQUIRED TO PROVIDE DATA ON THEIR NORTHERN AND CENTRAL GROUP OF FORCES. BEHREND INTERPRETED THIS AS REFLECTING SOVIET RELUCTANCE TO REVEAL ITS FORCE LEVELS IN POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

7. TARASOV STATED THAT THE WESTERN PROPOSAL WOULD CALL FOR THE TABLING OF ALMOST 40 FIGURES IN ALL FOR GROUND FORCES BY THE TWO SIDES. (CZECH REP (MEISNER) HAD PUT THE NUMBER AT 34 IN ANOTHER CONVERSATION, BEHREND SAID). MORE GENERALLY, TARASOV
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SAID THE WESTERN PROPOSAL WOULD REQUIRE THE EAST TO DIVULGE INFORMATION ON THE STRUCTURE OF WP FORCES. SUCH INFORMATION WAS NOT REQUIRED FOR THE PURPOSES OF THE DATA DISCUSSION. THE EAST'S PROPOSAL TO TABLE NATIONAL TOTALS WAS MUCH BETTER SINCE IT WOULD ANSWER THE QUESTION OF WHAT FORCES EACH PARTICIPANT HAD AND, THUS, BY HOW MUCH EACH PARTICIPANT MUST REDUCE.

8. TARASOV ALSO PRESSED THE LINE THAT WESTERN FIGURES ON WP FORCES WERE OVERESTIMATED, IMPLYING THAT THESE OVERESTIMATES WERE INTENTIONAL. THE WEST, HE CLAIMED, MUST BE USING AUTHORIZED RATHER THAN ACTUAL STRENGTHS IN DERIVING ITS ESTIMATES. THUS, THE EAST WAS PREPARED TO PROVIDE AVERAGE FIGURES FOR EACH COUNTRY'S MANNING LEVELS. BEHREND'S REPLIED THAT THE WEST'S FIGURES WERE BASED ON ACTUAL RATHER THAN AUTHORIZED STRENGTHS.

9. TARASOV CHARGED THAT THE WEST WAS NOT INTERESTED IN REACHING AN AGREEMENT. HE HAD LIVED IN THE U.S. FOR MANY YEARS. THE TALKS HAD COME INTO BEING IN 1973 WHEN THE U.S. WAS UNDER HEAVY SENATORIAL PRESSURE TO REDUCE UNILATERALLY ITS TROOP LEVELS IN EUROPE. WITH THE END OF THE VIET NAM WAR, HE CONTINUED, SUCH INTERNAL PRESSURES HAD ABATED, HAVING BEEN STAVED OFF IN LARGE MEASURE BY THESE TALKS. AS A RESULT, THE WEST HAD NOW LOST INTEREST IN REACHING AN AGREEMENT.

10. PAWELCZYK ARGUED THAT FORWARD MOVEMENT IN THE TALKS WAS IMPOSSIBLE AS LONG AS THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN FIGURES ON WP FORCES REMAINED UNEXPLAINED. WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION WOULD NOT ACCEPT FORWARD MOVEMENT UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES. TARASOV ASKED HOW THE WESTERN PROPOSAL WOULD CLARIFY THE DISCREPANCY--IF THE EAST WERE TO TABLE A FIGURE FOR THE SOVIET NORTHERN GROUP OF FORCES, FOR EXAMPLE, AND THE WEST WERE TO CLAIM THAT THE FIGURE WAS TOO LOW,

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WHAT THEN? PAWELCZYK SAID THAT IN BOTH SALT AND THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS THERE WAS A TENDENCY TOWARD PARITY AS THE AGREED OUTCOME. COULDN'T THE EAST AGREE THAT PARITY WOULD BE A REASONABLE OUTCOME TO THESE TALKS? TARASOV REFUSED TO CHARACTERIZE

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FROM MBFR VIENNA REP

PARITY AS EITHER GOOD OR BAD.SUCH STATEMENTS, HE SAID,
WERE EASY FOR POLITICANS BUT FOR THE NEGOTIATORS HERE THE
KEY FACT WAS THAT THE OUTCOME OF THE NEGOTIATIONS COULD NOT
LEAD TO A CHANGE IN THE EXISTING CORRELATION OF FORCES,
WHETHER THAT CORRELATION WAS ONE OF PARITY OR DISPARITY.
WHAT WAS IMPORTANT, HE STATED, WAS NOT PARITY BUT EQUAL
PERCENTAGE REDUCTIONS.

11. IN THE SAME AHG SESSION, BEHREND'S REPORTED ON A CONVERSATION
BETWEEN POLISH MILREP (OSTASZEWICZ) AND FRG DELOFF (COL.
SCHMIDBAUER). OSTASZEWICZ SAID THAT IT WOULD TAKE THE EAST A
LONG TIME TO EVALUATE AND RESPOND TO THE WEST'S DISAGGREGATION
PROPOSAL. PERHAPS THEY MIGHT NOT EVEN BE PREPARED TO RESPOND
BY THE START OF THE NEXT ROUND. THE WEST'S PROPOSAL CALLED
FOR THE PROVISION OF HIGHLY CLASSIFIED DATA DEALING WITH
EASTERN FORCE STRUCTURES. A DECISION TO DECLASSIFY SUCH INFOR-
MATION COULD ONLY BE MADE AT A VERY HIGH LEVEL. UNDER THE WESTERN
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PROPOSAL, OSTASZEWICZ SAID, THE EAST WOULD HAVE TO REVEAL
SOME 18 PIECES OF DATA ON GROUND FORCES. (COMMENT: HIS USE
OF THIS FIGURE, WHICH IS ACCURATE, DEMONSTRATES THAT THE EAST
UNDERSTANDS THE MECHANICS OF THE WESTERN PROPOSAL. END COMMENT:)

12. OSTASZEWICZ SAID THAT THE EAST HAD NO MULTILATERAL STAFF
CATEGORY AS THERE WERE NO MULTILATERAL HEADQUARTERS IN THE
AREA. THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE WEST WOULD WANT DATA ON
DIVISIONS WAS A FURTHER COMPLICATING FACTOR. IN FACT, HE SAID,
THERE WAS NO NECESSITY TO PROVIDE DATA AT THE ARMY/CORPS
LEVEL. IN SHORT, THE WESTERN PROPOSAL WOULD REQUIRE TOO
MUCH INFORMATION OF THE EAST ON THE STRUCTURES OF ITS FORCES.

13. AT THE JULY 21 AHG MEETING, BEHREND'S REPORTED ON A MEETING
OF THAT DAY BETWEEN FRG MILREP (STIEFF) AND SOVIET MILREP
(KAPITONOV). BEHREND'S CHARACTERIZED KAPITONOV'S COMMENTS

AS "LESS EXTREME" THAN SHUSTOV'S (REPORTED ABOVE). UNDER THEIR NATIONAL BREAKDOWN SCHEME, KAPITONOV SAID, THE EAST WOULD PROVIDE, FOR EXAMPLE, FIGURES ON SOVIET AIR AND GROUND FORCE MANPOWER. IF WESTERN FIGURES WERE HIGHER, THE SOVIETS WOULD PROVIDE FIGURES ON THEIR MANNING LEVELS. KAPITONOV SAID HE WAS SURE WESTERN FIGURES WERE BASED ON AUTHORIZED STRENGTHS WHICH WERE HIGHER THAN THE ACTUAL MANNING LEVELS OF EASTERN FORCES. IF THE WEST STILL CONTESTED THE FIGURES, THE EAST WOULD GIVE EXAMPLES OF THE MANNING OF CERTAIN MODEL (BUT UNIDENTIFIED BY UNIT DESIGNATION OR LOCATION) UNITS.

14. BEHREND'S ALSO SAID THAT CZECHOSLOVAK REP MEISNER HAD TOLD HIM ON THE SAME DAY THAT THE EAST'S EXPERTS WOULD STUDY THE WEST'S PROPOSAL. MEISNER HAD IMPLIED THAT THE EAST WOULD PROBABLY RESPOND WITH SOME SORT OF COUNTERPROPOSAL. RESOR

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